585 couple then put on wreaths called sammandha mālai, or wreaths establishing relationship, and the wrist threads are tied on. The bride's sister brings some rice and milk in a cup, into which the linked fingers of the bride and bridegroom are thrust. Taking up some of the rice, they put it into each other's mouths three times. After they have washed their hands, the maternal uncle or priest asks them if they have seen Aranjoti (the pole-star), and they reply in the affirmative. On the third day, presents are given to the newly-married couple, and the wrist threads are removed. Going to a stream, they perform a mimic ceremony of sowing, and scatter cotton and rice seed in two small pans made by a Toreya with
587 cow-dung. Widow remarriage is permitted among the Udayas, and a widow may marry a cousin, but not her
585 dead husband's brother. At the marriage ceremony, a priest makes a mark with sacred ashes on the foreheads of the contracting couple, and announces the fact of their union.

428 It is noted by Dr. Rivers that "Breeks has stated that the Toda custom is that the house shall pass to the youngest son. It seems quite clear that this is wrong, and that this custom is absolutely unknown among the Todas. It is, however, a Badaga custom, and among them I was told that it is due to the fact that, as the sons of a family grow up and marry, they leave the
(593) house of the parents and build houses elsewhere. It is
(888) the duty of the youngest son to dwell with his parents, and support them as long as they live, and, when they die, he continues to live in the paternal home, of which he becomes the owner."

843 A ceremony is performed in the seventh month of a
(555) woman's first pregnancy, which is important, inasmuch
(586) as it seals the marriage contract, and, after its perform-

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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F.	Patrilineal clan	(exogamous; widespread)
G.	Phratry	(endogamous or sometimes exogamous; widespread)
H.	Moiety	(endogamous or sometimes exogamous; Nilgiri-wide)
I.	Badaga community	(generally endogamous; Nilgiri-wide)
J.	Fourteen *kolas* or septs	(exogamous; in popular belief, South- India-wide)

THE JOINT PATRILOCAL FAMILY

The Badaga family is always patrilineal and nearly always patrilocal. Because of the power it wields a joint family is the ideal and every third generation typically passes through this desired state. Thus a young couple establish a new home in the village of the groom's father. Their children, if male, should remain in the same house with their parents, or be married into another village if female. Then the young men take brides from villages of affines, bring them to the parental home and raise their children there. At this juncture there would be three generations living under the same roof: (1) unmarried grandchildren, (2) unmarried daughters, married sons and their wives, (3) the parents. On the death of the founding father the brothers are expected to leave his house and establish separate homes. The dispersal of the household has three causes—architectural, legal, and psychological. The first is that Badaga houses have only two or three fairly small rooms and by the time that three generations, two of them with spouses, are occupying one house there is an acute shortage of space—a situation which may be aggravated by polygyny. The legal cause of dispersal is ultimogeniture: Badaga law requires that the youngest son inherit his father's house and at the same time take care of the widowed mother (Rivers, 1906, 559-560). Financial provision should be made for all older brothers to build separate houses. The psychological causes are the total lack of privacy and the elder brothers' uneasy feeling of indebtedness to the youngest brother who legitimately owns the house. A further complication is that in recent years one brother working in an office has become

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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increasingly loath to share a relatively high income with his extended family. Thus large joint families are no longer as common as they were half a century ago: an average Badaga household today contains only 5.5 members, and the range in size is from one to perhaps twenty.

LINEAGE

Several joint families able to agree on precisely how they are descended from a common male ancestor consider themselves a *minimal* or a *minor lineage* (in Baḍagu, *guppu*). This is an exogamous and patrilineal group living in a single village and is the most important lineage for members, often the only one they know by name. It tends to split into two lineages every four or five generations. The *guppu* is a unit within which interest-free loans are obtained and which even today has a buffalo herd in common. It no longer holds land in common, though at its inception the joint family of the founder did, and each descendant is still entitled to a proportion of his land. This lineage tends to hold family ceremonies together. If further participants are wanted at such ceremonies the remainder of the *major lineage* (in Baḍagu, *kutti*) can be invited. This consists of at least two minor lineages the leaders of which can trace their ancestry back to a common founder. Very often the major lineages in one or several neighbouring villages summate to a *maximal lineage* (in Baḍagu, *kuḍumbu*) and responsible members can trace their actual descent from its founder, too. All levels of lineage can be referred to by a founder's name, though in many villages no more than one level is now recognized. Lineages of all levels may be invited to attend family ceremonies.

From the example in Diagram 6 it can be seen that a maximal lineage has a depth of about seven generations. As at O:ranayi the maximal lineage is very often coterminous with the village, which explains the exogamy of most villages. There are, however, some exceptional villages, notably those of the Wodeas and Toreas, and of the Gaudas of So:lu:ru commune and Ha:sanu:ru, which contain several distinct lineages from *different* clans within each village; so that while exogamy still marks the lineage it is not characteristic of the villages.

There is a strong sense of lineage solidarity, strongest at the minor level but still significant at the maximal. In case of a dispute

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
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by a Kurumba who used magic to get her. How else could he have succeeded?

Nowadays the patronizing of lowland prostitutes is seemingly more common than are casual relationships with Toda or Kota girls or for that matter local Kanarese or Tamilian girls. The choice of a prostitute is a matter of personal taste. Some men do not mind older women, others want them very young; some prefer Anglo-Indians, others Malayalis, and so on. The deciding factor is usually what one can pay. Both the main towns of the Nilgiris, Coonoor and Ootacamund, have a variety of women available. The pimps one approaches do not keep the girls, but can call them from their houses; a client has to pay the pimp, not the girl. During the main tourist season a crew of high-class prostitutes is maintained in, but not by, the main Ootacamund hotels. These women circulate from one hotel to another every few days. At the other end of the scale one occasionally encounters village prostitutes. In a typical case a lowland man kept two non-Badaga women, whom he claimed to be his wife and her sister, but whom he made available to anybody for a small payment.

(*f*) Intercourse with Badaga girls born in one's own village is technically incestuous and as such is frowned upon. Nonetheless men do sometimes have affairs with their parallel cousins who, in kinship terminology, would be called "sisters." It a girl visits a neighbour's house too often, or a youth from that house finds reasons to visit hers, their families get suspicious about the matter. They tell him to go away while the girl is present, or else ask her why she has to visit at this particular time. If such hints do not suffice, the girl may find herself quickly married to somebody else in another village.

(*g*) Real intrafamilial incest is extremely rare, except in the common case of a man having relations with the wife of an elder brother, a matter that can usually be excused. I know of few instances of genuine incest, but can present as meagre evidence of Badagas having an incest wish the fact that a tale about it is told repeatedly and listened to eagerly. This tale, supposedly of Tamil origin, is about a man whose wife died and who then had relations with his own daughter, thinking of her as a fruit that he had grown himself and would now enjoy. There are heavy prohibitions on sexual intercourse between a brother and sister. Were relations to occur between them their entire family would be despised. A brother and sister should not even sit together and talk in front of their elders. In fact affection

41 Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
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between the two, or between a father and his daughter, has often led to a divorce.

In the estimate of one good informant, when incest occurs within the family it is most often with an elder brother's wife, and less commonly with a son's wife or with the father's second wife when she is a man's stepmother. Mother/son, father/daughter and brother/sister relations are the rarest of all, if indeed they ever occur.

The above seven types of illicit relationship are listed in my informant's order, going from (*a*) the most common but least serious, to (*g*), the most uncommon and offensive. Despite the considerable amount of evidence collected on these various types, I was told by old people that it used to be thought a very bad thing for a husband to commit adultery, and if his wife or another person found out about it she would go to the village headman who would call a meeting of the council and then fine the guilty person: in adultery the man was always at fault.

Among Badagas the public attitude towards a cuckolded husband is that he is a foolish, weak and lazy man, for otherwise his wife could not have been led astray. However, his wife also loses all respect with the other village women, who may well fear that they could lose their own husbands to her too. Nor can the adulterous man expect any accolades for his behaviour. Today a case of adultery may go before a council, which can still fine the adulterer; or her husband may quietly divorce an adulterous wife; or he might give the adulterer a beating, provided he had some alternate explanation for it to offer his neighbours.

Attitudes towards extra-marital love and prostitution are clearly expressed in Badaga proverbs and legends. Witness the following still current proverbs: "Three things are equal to each other: a harlot, an adulterer, and a piece of ground which is always in danger of being washed away by a river" (Metz 1864: 97); "If the food is spoiled, the day is spoiled; if the wife is spoiled, one's life is spoiled;" "The immoral woman will not believe her own husband;" "The whoremonger will vanish away like a handful of wind" (Metz 1864: 98); and again, "Lust is deceitful, I have lost my blanket through it" (Metz 1864: 96). A few lines from an epic poem conjure up a vision of limbo that is worthy of Dante's *Inferno :*

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
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and all sleep in a vacant house, or one where only a widow lives, or one with a newborn baby (and hence no possibility of adult sexual activity at night). If a group is sleeping in such a house children of the opposite sex are not allowed in it.

5.20. In the last century children might only wash once a month, and be really dirty the rest of the time. Now they are washed every evening, and after reaching five years they do this for themselves. In the morning they only wash the face and clean the teeth with charcoal and a twig. Until about 1930 girls below five wore no undergarments but were simply wrapped in a loincloth. Even above that age boys and girls from very poor families continued to dress like that. Now both boys and girls wear vests and underpants from an early age. I will not offer further details on their dress here, as a full account may be found in Hockings (1979 b). By the age of seven or eight children knew how to wash their clothes; but since about 1930 and the requirements of schooling they have usually given their dirty clothes to an obliging sister or mother.

5.21. In summary, we can see that children become enculturated partly by the tales their elders entertain them with, and partly by moving freely around the village, doing things together like working and playing and sleeping. As in all parts of India, small children look to their elder siblings for guidance and leadership. As one proverb expresses this, "If the firstborn is not up to the ears, how can the later-born reach to the horns?" Outdoor group games are popular with the very young, and will be supervised by some old man or woman. In later childhood team sports such as football and a near-lethal form of field hockey are played between village teams. There are also hopscotch games, board games and string figures to while away the time or sharpen the wits of children at various ages. As we will now outline, there is also a series of childhood ceremonies which educate a young person in the values and the structure of his society, and in some cases affect his appearance and attitudes.

Childhood Ceremonies

5.22. This is not the place to offer a detailed ethnographic account of the various life-cycle ceremonies that are performed: they have already been described elsewhere by Natesa Sastri (1892) and

554 any wealthy man should be believed before some ordinary man, a Badaga should
695 be believed before a non-Badaga (other factors being relatively equal), a small
(562) boy should be believed before an adult, but an old man should be believed before
(565) a younger one. Until about 1940 utterances from ghosts or gods (spoken through
(609) possessed mediums) were treated as reliable evidence, more reliable indeed than
(561) anything men might say.

Badagas are familiar with the phenomenon of in-group solidarity, as it
•593 regularly finds graphic illustration in the hearing of village disputes. A man is so dependent upon the support of his family in a dispute, as well as in his daily ritual observances, that it is normally assumed -- unless he is disputing with his
(425) own brother -- that he will not lie to his family about anything. So if Kadan, for example, is engaged in a dispute with Rangan over the shifting of a field boundary, Kadan can expect his family's support in the matter even though they all know that his evidence is a complete fabrication; indeed the whole family stands to gain if
613 Kadan wins the case, provided the family estate remains undivided until then. If Rangan is from another lineage than Kadan (and the dispute is sufficiently important, we might add), each man may win the active support of his entire lineage.
571 Similarly in a dispute between two men of different hamlets, each man's hamlet
621 will typically support him in the dispute even though his claim is known to be false. At the level of inter-village disputes the support from an entire hamlet may be forthcoming only because everybody feels the reputation of his own hamlet is at
518 stake: few would look for material gains in the situation. The fixing of village
(657) boundaries by the Revenue Board during the 1880's obviated the possibility of an inter-village dispute over field boundaries; but important conflicts can still arise over marriage and divorce, inheritance, debt and interest, theft, and a variety of

8: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1982 AN50 Badaga AN50

1. Kinship Behaviour

It is not possible to present the Badaga kinship system here in such a way that it fully explains Badaga behaviour, even that sort which we anthropologists usually call kinship behaviour. Any actions occurring in the social setting of two or more persons who consider themselves to be "related" may well have motivations that lie in such spheres as the practice of agriculture, the accumulation of political power, the acquisition of wealth, or the display of education—as well as in so-called kinship obligations. One can thus argue that the presentation of a system of kinship terminology does very little in the way of explaining behaviour, even though it is concerned with the labelling of actors in a wide variety of interactional situations.[1]

We will be confining ourselves, in the following pages, to two interconnected facets of kinship: *(a)* the system of terminology by which Badagas identify certain others as sharing ancestors and responsibilities with them, i.e., "being related"; and *(b)* the manipulations of this system so as to arrange marriage, transfer ownership of land, and assign responsibility for performing life-cyle rituals amongst one's "relatives."

That familial interaction is not necessarily dominated by kinship obligations or guided by high ideals of behaviour may be illustrated at the outset by an example taken from my fieldnotes:

> Over twenty years ago a well-to-do landowner was in hospital for a relatively minor complaint, and after a few days was discharged as cured. He returned to the village where he lived with his several adult sons, and died that same night. The next morning his body was cremated in the usual manner. The likely facts behind this series of events, as seen by those close to the family, were these. The old man, who was blind, was a Hindu, but had felt gratitude towards the local Christians on a number of counts. In his last years he had given several small plots of his own land to Christians, which had irritated his sons immensely. In concert, therefore, they had taken advantage of his release from the hospital to poison him, and of course arranged for his cremation immediately afterwards. In short, they had placed maintenance of their patrimony very much ahead of the traditional loyalty to parents which is supposed to be a prime Badaga—and Hindu—value. Descent and residence were assured already; now the inheritance had to be secured.

Even if this example proved inaccurate in some details, it could be paralleled by similar stories from any number of villages. In each case we would find that while rules for intrafamilial conduct do exist, as one central part of the Badagas' cultural tradition, personal considerations of one sort or another will very often modify the behaviour in quite unpredictable ways. The distinction between rules, i.e., institutional norms, and practice, i.e., the behaviour of individuals, will be a theme running through much of this paper.

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[1] I am indebted to my students, Kathryn L. Cooper and Sayoko Morioka, for a preliminary analysis of my kinship data, and to Sylvia Vatuk for her critical comments.

81 Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1982 AN50 Badaga AN50

121 The extensive analysis of Dravidian kinship over the past quarter of a century, especially at the hands of Dumont, Gough, Leach, and Yalman, has rarely been insistent on maintaining a distinction between rules and practices, and authors have tended to shift from one kind of data to the other whenever it suited their purpose, usually leaving the reader to assume that kinship practices are the rules in action. This may or may not be so in a particular case, but no identity between rules and practice should be presumed.

In Badaga kinship practice we certainly find that a great deal of accommodation of behaviour becomes necessary in daily life beyond the realm of kinship rules, since many of these have not been elaborated sufficiently to provide for all possible eventualities. Take, as an example, the ritual requirement 764 that a daughter (and in fact her husband) must make a gift of one em- [121] broidered shawl at the funeral of each of her parents: that may be identified as a rule, one that can be stated by informants and is normally followed; but if there are several daughters, some married and others not, who presents that one shawl? Here we can find no rule to guide behaviour. In one instance that came to my attention, the several daughters were married to men of differential wealth, and they had to agree to split the costs of one shawl evenly between them. In this situation the poorest of the husbands would press for a lower contribution, and the wealthier husbands would have to agree to his figure and contribute the same amount themselves so as not to embarrass him; then they jointly got a cheap shawl.

In another case three brothers each had one wife. The eldest had three 764 sons and no daughters, the second three daughters, and the youngest one 607 daughter. This meant that there would be four married daughters available to present—with their husbands' financial support—six embroidered shawls at the six funerals expected at the parental level. But before any of these deaths occurred, one daughter was divorced. The husbands of the three daughters remaining married agreed that each would make himself responsible for the purchase of two shawls, and then they designated which two funerals each • 593 would contribute these to. Brothers sometimes "divide up" their living sisters in a similar way, each thereby making himself responsible for the ceremonial and other requirements of one, two or more sisters, whether 121 these women are married or not. In all of these examples, which I cull from recorded occurrences, there are no specific rules to guide behaviour in every eventuality. What we find instead is a rational attempt to compromise where necessary and fulfill kinship obligations where possible. Family enmities, premature deaths, lack of interest, divorce, absence, or poverty may all enter into the modification not only of kinship rules but of agreed-upon (593) arrangements such as we have just instanced. Egalitarianism between siblings of the same sex is certainly one guiding principle here, even if circumstances make it difficult or perhaps impossible to honour.

Many of the Badaga kinship "rules" are preferences rather than pres- 582 criptions. Take the "rule" of cross-cousin marriage, for example, which is [121] typical of Dravidian kinship systems. In the Badaga case a youth may marry

8: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1982 AN50 Badaga AN50

561 602 two men, Ego and 'N', who find that they are "sons-in-law" to each other, because Ego is FZH to 'N' but is also a classificatory BS to the wife of 'N'. Thus, if the permitted marriage that Diagram 1 illustrates takes place, the two men do not know how to treat each other according to the rules that normally guide behaviour towards affines. The problem is resolved by determing which man is the older one and is thus entitled to the deference of the other.

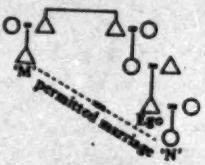

Diagram 2

The same point about the non-recognition of affinal generation levels is brought out in a second example. In Diagram 2 Ego should not show respect to 'M', although the latter is of a superior generation level, because it is permissible for 'M' to marry 'N'. Ego therefore calls 'M', his potential son-in-law, by name instead of by a kin term, as he would otherwise do in addressing an older person. It is important to note that in a society where (587) (795) remarriage is common and polygyny does occur, any married couple can quite probably trace the kin relationship linking them through two or even three different routes. In such a situation, aggravated as it is by the commonness of "cross-generational" marriages, affinal generation levels really become unmanageable concepts, since Ego's spouse could conceivably be assigned to several different generation levels, from his point of view, depending on which way her relationship to him was traced through their kinship field.

593 586 (613) Rights over the wife as genetrix rest fully with her husband and his lineage. Upon divorcing her he assumes control and responsibility for all of the children she has produced for him, boys and girls, and she is sent back to her father's house (cf. Table 5).

843 (611) (842) The fundamental principle of patriliny finds biological justification in the Badaga theory of conception. In their traditional view, a foetus develops solely from the semen of the father. The only biological role of the mother is a nurturing one, seen as rather analogous to manuring a field. Blood comes to the foetus from the mother's stomach, where it has been made from digested food; and after the delivery her milk also comes from digested food in the stomach. While the mother's role is thus a crucial one in that she feeds the foetus and baby, it is not considered to develop from her flesh at all.

8: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1982 AW50 Badaga AW50

4. Visiting the Relatives: A Kin-based Institution

All Badagas are expected by their families to visit affinal and agnatic relatives with some regularity. The effect of this requirement is to keep the joint family ideal alive even after a household has broken up, and to sustain the ties with affines from whom one may at any time need either a spouse or a loan of money.

One such rule is that all Badagas must eat with their close relatives at least once a year. "Close relatives" here means those with whom one is involved in the performance of family ceremonies: it hence includes both one's closer agnates and some affines. Accordingly, a family either sends a message that the members are coming to visit some relatives, or will send an invitation for them to visit instead; and such visits involve minimally the eating of one meal. Everybody recognizes that if relatives do not eat together within a twelve-month period, it means that there is some ill-feeling between them. Steps may even be taken by village elders to locate and rectify the source of the friction, so that it may not impede the performance of ceremonies later on. There may of course be other reasons, such as distance or occupation, which make it impossible for relatives to get together; in this case they may still send gifts of food to each other once a year. In the modern day when business or study obligations can make these family feasts difficult to attend, some Badagas go so far as to prepare a special foodstuff before the twelve-month period since the last such feast has elapsed, a foodstuff which can be kept indefinitely and be fed to relatives whenever convenient, even after the twelve-month period is over.

A man visiting his wife's natal home is always an important guest whether or not he has received an invitation to come. Her family are all very respectful to him for fear he decrease the amount of his wife's contacts with them, which he is certainly in a position to do. For all family ceremonies or festivals in their village, they make sure he is among the first to be invited. When younger siblings of his wife are ready for marriage, he is consulted about a spouse, and may intensify the ties between the two families by suggesting his own sibling or parallel cousin. Hence, any villagers noticing that a man does not attend the ceremonies in which his wife's father is involved will conclude that he is snubbing his father-in-law for some reason.

Visits in the other direction, to the house of a married daughter or sister, are much more circumscribed. Her parents will not go to her husband's home without a good reason. They will however make occasional visits there just to emphasize the bond between the two families and to show that the parents still have affection for their daughter. Her brothers should equally have an invitation or a definite purpose for visiting her. In general, her natal family consider it rather lacking in dignity to visit her too often, and they will try to restrict the visits of any brother who seems especially fond of her. Her husband's family may well feel that very frequent visits from her brothers waste a woman's working time and can even become something of an economic drain.

8: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1982 AW50 Badaga AW50

5. Adoption and Inheritance

428 Upon the death of a family head only his sons inherit his property. The farm-land and cattle are divided between them, or else maintained undivided as joint family property. But with regard to the house, the Badagas have the unusual institution of ultimogeniture: it is the youngest son who inherits the house and usually keeps his aging mother and unmarried sisters in it. New houses might have to be built for the elder brothers. The ultimogeniture makes good sense in a society where often a girl was married by the age of 12, and where consequently the oldest son of an elderly widow might be no more than 13 or 14 years her junior. Her youngest son is more likely to be a young man in the prime of life, more vigorous, with fewer dependents, and better able to provide for his old mother. By the time he has grown up, his elder brothers have commonly married, cleared fresh farmland, and built themselves new houses near this land (Rivers 1906: 560; Frazer 1918: 81).

428 763 [212] Since the Badagas were until recently non-literate, and even now write wills only in rare cases, there has always been a series of rules to handle the transition of property from the dead to the living, whether lineal male descendants or adopted sons. Their substitute for a written will is the *sa:la jo:li*, a verbal statement made by the dying man. Each wish *(sa:la)* in it is normally followed by his relatives, but if any wish seems unfair they will immediately question him about it. Unfairness should here be construed as meaning an unequal division of property between the male heirs or too much generosity towards the wife and/or daughters. These people will try to reach a compromise with the dying man so that his wishes can later be followed without further argument.

428 There are no rules about particular kinds of property going to particular categories of relatives, with the one exception that when the head of the household dies, his main house goes to his youngest son. Even so, the *value* of that house has to be divided between all the sons, so that the youngest may well have to give something to his elder brothers. The rights of the [736] youngest son in the house are absolute. It is true that he must be ready to shelter his widowed mother there; yet if he wants to he can sell the house [764] without prior consultation. The funerals of his father and mother will be held there, under the superintendence of their *eldest* son. Yet if the eldest [593] son wants to bring Kota musicians to perform at the funeral, and the youngest son prohibits this, his will must prevail since it is his house.

125 115 In 1963 I interviewed a sample of 301 Badaga males (aged 15 and above), and a further sample of 119 adult females. These people came from all parts of the Nilgiri District; and one of the questions asked concerned the number of houses that they "owned." In Table 1 it will be seen that 38% 423 of the men did own houses, but only 19% owned more than one house. The 562 percentages of women "owning" houses were at nearly all levels less than for

8: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1982 AW50 Badaga AW50

428 to her late husband's estate. Occasionally a son who is to inherit is considered
(622) insane or otherwise incapacitated. Under such circumstances a village head-
(623) man and council would give his share of the inheritance directly to his son or
else to whichever person was supporting him.

595 Inheritance problems most commonly arise when an aging man has no
(428) sons. He may then marry a young woman, probably his second or third wife,
(837) in the hope that she will produce a son. (He may even encourage his younger
brother to sleep with her.) Alternatively, he will adopt a son. At its simplest,
this could involve bringing his brother's son or another agnatic male into the
household. The latter could even begin to run the household and enjoy the
597 property before the owner's death, and if the headman and the relatives
(425) accepted this situation the property might be fully transferred to this person
before the old man died. Where no male descendant exists, and none has
428 been adopted, the dead man's property is divided equally between his
(136) brothers, who are then obliged to apportion some of it for the support of
his daughters and/or widow. Once she dies that portion reverts to the
brothers. It may of course happen that one or two of his brothers have
already died before a childless man dies. In that case the sons of those dead
brothers would still inherit their portions. Several sons of one dead brother
divide their father's share equally amongst themselves, but it is no larger
than the share that each of their living uncles receives.

593 The brother of a dead man does not formally adopt the orphaned
736 children, but it is he who should bring them up and arrange their marriages.
428 Once the male orphans are adults they take over their father's property from
(425) their uncle who has been managing it. In this situation the village council
(623) would nonetheless award a part of the property to that uncle in recompense
for his services.

When brothers are dividing up an inheritance among themselves, they
428 give a share called *tale kuɾu* ("head dividend") to their eldest brother's
425 eldest son provided that he is older than every other brother's son. In effect
this person is treated by them as a younger brother rather than a nephew
except that his share is smaller than that of the brothers. When his own
father, the eldest of the brothers, dies, his property is divided in equal
portions in the usual manner amongst all of his sons. Since his eldest son
already owns the "head dividend," that is not touched. The end result is that
the eldest son of an eldest brother often inherits a bit more property than his
younger brothers do.

6. Kinship Vocabulary

551 It is a feature of Badaga speech that a third party is referred to by his
601 connection to the person addressed. Thus when a man is speaking about
his own wife, he does not say "my wife," but refers to her by her relation-
ship to the person he is addressing, even though this may involve quite com-
plicated vocabulary. However, in the case where the man is talking to his FF

about her, he will still not refer to his wife by her relationship through the speaker to his own FF, and so instead of calling her "your grandson's wife," Ego will describe her as "X's mother" where 'X' is Ego's own child. 551 601

The same terms are used for children by both male and female speakers, but the reference may link a speaker to a child through either of its parents. It is interesting in this context to note what happens when two brothers marry two sisters, as in Diagram 3. In this situation we find that Ego calls 'X' his BS, while Ego's wife calls 'X' her ZS. It is one small reflection of sibling solidarity. 601

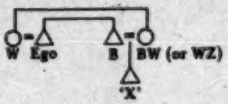

Diagram 3

The near universal distinctions of sex are mirrored in the terminology (see Table 2). Thus a term ending in *-i (mammi* for the first ascending generation collaterals) will connote a female while the same term ending in *-a (mamma* for the first ascending generation collaterals also) will be used for a male. (This suffix differentiation is general in the Dravidian languages and not reserved just for kinship terms.)

Generational division is prevalent and especially obvious for the second and third ascending and second descending generations. All grandfathers and great-grandfathers—paternal or maternal—are referred to as *ayya*, all grandmothers and great-grandmothers as *hette*. Sons, grandsons as well as all small boys tend to be called *ma:ti* or *tamma*. Granddaughters and grandsons are also referred to in descriptive terminology.

Inheritance and respect patterns within a single generation place emphasis upon who is elder (e) or younger (y) and this too is reflected in the kinship terms. An elder brother is *aṇṇa*, a younger one is *tamma*. An elder sister is *akka*, a younger one *amme*. Even in generations other than Ego's at prefix (*doḍḍa* for elder, *kunna* or *sikka* for younger) is applied to some terms to emphasize whether a relative is younger or older than the person through whom Ego is related to him or her. A few examples are these: *appa* is father, and a FeB would be called *doḍḍa appa* while FyB would be *kunna appa;* the mother is *auve*, and a MZS would be *doḍḍa auve ma:ti* or *sikka auve ma:ti* depending on the relative seniority of the MZ; *ayya* is any male of the second or third generation ascending, but a FFeB is called *doḍḍa ayya* while FFyB is *kunna ayya*. (561)

Agnates of generations senior to Ego are addressed by him using a kin term. Those who are of generations equal or junior to Ego's are addressed by name, even when the individuals are older than Ego is. A woman, on the other hand, should never utter her husband's name, whether or not he is present. If asked for it, she may describe another person altogether, and then (551) (593)

8: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1982 AN50 Badaga AN50

add, "It's the same name as his." She does not even refer to her husband by the standard kin term, *gaṇḍa*, but instead says *en mane avoka*, "my housekeeper." (601) (551) (593)

The Badagas display what Murdock (1949: 223-236) has termed a Dakota-type terminology. They have the Iroquois terminology (bifurcate merging), which emphasizes Ego's lineage by: (1) equating father and his brothers (*appa*) but separating off mother's brothers (*mamma*); (2) equating mother and her sisters (*avve*) but separating off father's sisters (*mammi*). The Iroquois bifurcate-merging cousin terminology specifically separates out the cross-cousins who can be married (FZD—*mammi heṇṇu*; MBD—*mamma heṇṇu*) from the sisters (eZ—*akka*; yZ—*amme*) and parallel cousins (FBD—*akka*, *amme*, and MZD—*doḍḍa avve heṇṇu* [e] or *sikka avve heṇṇu* [y]) whom one cannot marry. By calling Ego's Z and FBD by the same terms, Ego's patrilineage is also emphasized. Dakota-type terminology also assumes patrilineages and patriclans which, as already stated, the Badagas possess.

It should be noted that the generational level within the agnatic group is extremely important. This importance is stressed even to the extent that if Ego's DD is married to a man related as "F" to Ego, then she has to be treated as a "M" by Ego. And if ZD marries a "F" relation to Ego then she is considered "M" to Ego even though he is *guru* to her. Females automatically assume the generation levels of the men they marry. In the example illustrated (Diagram 4), if 'A' marries 'B', which may happen if 'A' is younger than 'B', then she calls 'C' "father's wife," not "brother's daughter." (885) (562)

Diagram 4

The same general principle is illustrated by another possible though hypothetical situation. In Diagram 5, 'B' marries 'C' and later dies, leaving her with several sons. The widow 'C' is then encouraged to marry 'A', probably a widower himself. If she has a son 'D' by him, then 'D' is one generation senior to 'E', 'F', and 'G', although he is younger than any of them. 'E' thus has to call 'D' "father." Later at the inheritance of 'A's' property, 'D' gets one half of it, while the other half is shared by 'E', 'F', and 'G'.

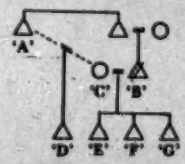

Diagram 5